

THE REPORT OF FRAY ALONSO DE POSADA IN RELATION TO QUIVIRA AND TEGUAYO

By S. LYMAN TYLER* and H. DARREL TAYLOR

Introduction

Fray Alonso de Posada apparently arrived in New Mexico in 1650. From 1650 to 1660 he served as a missionary in various New Mexican pueblos, some of them in the most remote areas in the province. During this ten years he not only became well acquainted with New Mexico but learned much from the Indians of the areas beyond in the interior of North America.

From 1661 to 1665 Fray Alonso was Custodian of the *Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo del Nuevo México*. In this assignment he was in a position to gain information from the reports of all the missionaries of the *Custodia* whom he directed.

Don Diego de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo, an adventurer from Peru, arrived in New Mexico as governor of that province in 1661. From 1661 to 1664 there was much contention between the governor and Fray Alonso, but bad blood between the civil and ecclesiastical officials was not uncommon in New Mexico during the seventeenth century.

Don Diego visited Zuñi and Moqui and heard of Teguayo through an Indian of Jémez Pueblo who had been a captive there. He also acquired a knowledge of Quivira, of the land of the Tejas Indians, and of *Cerro Azul*, and planned to visit each of these places. His constant troubles with the *frailes* eventually resulted in charges being brought against him by the Inquisition.

Don Diego left New Mexico in 1664. The next year he arrived in Mexico City to answer the charges brought by the Inquisition. From 1665 to 1668 he was their prisoner. During this period Don Diego tried in vain to persuade the viceroy to allow him to lead an expedition into the country lying

* S. Lyman Tyler is Professor of History and Director of Libraries at the Brigham Young University. H. Darrel Taylor is Professor of Spanish Literature at the Brigham Young University.

beyond New Mexico in the interior of North America, the lands of Quivira and Teguayo.

In 1668 Don Diego de Peñalosa was presented as a penitent in an *Auto de Fe*, fined, deprived of the right to hold military or political office, then perpetually exiled from New Spain and the Windward Islands. Degraded and an exile, Don Diego went first to London and then to Paris seeking to peddle the idea that he had failed to sell to the viceroy in New Spain.

By 1678 the Spanish King had heard of Don Diego's activity and sent the following dispatch to his viceroy in New Spain to enquire about the area then under discussion at the French court:

Very Reverend in Christ, Father Fray Payo de Rivera, archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my council, my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain and president of my royal audiencia of those provinces (*ad interim*), or to the person, or persons, in whose charge may be its government. In my royal Council of the Indies, information has been received that Don Diego de Peñalosa (who wears the attire of a knight of Alcántara, and is called the Count of Santa Fé), a native of Lima, is in Paris and that the cause of being in that court has resulted from some embarrassing experiences which as governor of New Mexico (in the administration of the viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, your predecessor) he had with the Tribunal of the Inquisition. It imprisoned him, confiscated his property, and he left, deprived of his office and exiled from that kingdom. From there he went to England, and from there to Paris where he has been for five years. He has married a French woman and he has given a paper to the Most Christian King concerning the conquest and discovery of the provinces of Quivira and Tagayo (that is, Tehuayo) assuring them that they are very rich in silver and gold, offering to go himself with the fleet on account of being very well informed concerning all the Indies. Furthermore, he has been given a reply to the effect that with the present war waging it would not be possible to discuss the enterprise, but that as soon as there was peace it would be considered. Therefore, it is hopeful that with peace his advice may be carried out, etc. . . . Dated, Madrid, on the 10th of December, 1678. I, the King. By order of the king our Lord, Don José de Veita y Linage.¹

1. C. W. Hackett, ed., *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (4 vols., Austin, Texas, 1931-1946), I, 156.

Unaware of the international intrigue that had resulted from the activities of Don Diego, a group of Frenchmen under La Salle left New France, descended the Mississippi River, discovered its mouth, then sailed to France to seek permission from the king to further explore and to colonize that area. The French Government apparently made the information it had received from Don Diego available to La Salle.

In 1682, Don Diego proposed to the representatives of Louis XIV that a French settlement be established at the mouth of the Río Grande, only to be rebuffed. In 1684, when La Salle was already preparing his expedition to the Mississippi's mouth, Don Diego made a new proposal. This time he would seize Tampico and make it a base for the conquest of the rich mines of Santa Barbara. When it had obtained Don Diego's "secrets and information," the French cabinet "rejected him, and communicated them to La Salle in order that he, through his sagacity, might carry out everything that . . . [Don Diego de Peñalosa] promised."²

The Council of the Indies gained information of this further action being taken by the French and, in 1685, again requested a report on these northern provinces of Quivira and Teguayo. Fray Alonso de Posada fell heir to the task of writing this report. It was begun in 1686 and completed either that year or the next.

The report probably did not reach Spain until any danger that may have threatened because of the activities of La Salle had passed. Spain, however, dispatched men to search for the colony established by La Salle and to strengthen the Spanish frontier in that region. This was the first move toward eventual Spanish occupation of Texas.

La Salle's forces (about four hundred men) had landed on Matagordas Bay rather than at the mouth of the Mississippi. A settlement was made on the Lavaca River, from which they attempted to reach the Mississippi overland. When this failed La Salle tried to lead his men to New France. Disgruntled because of the hardships they had to endure and

2. *Ibid.*, 158-159.

dissatisfied with his leadership, some of La Salle's men conspired to kill him and rid themselves of his autocratic rule.

Without a leader the group could not be held together. Some of the men made their way back to France, others stayed in that area, some remaining with the Indians and some finding their way to Spanish New Mexico, still others eventually managed to reach New France, where, we are told, they encountered Baron Lahontan.³ This spinner of yarns quite likely used the stories he heard from La Salle's men of their own experiences, plus what information they imparted to him of Don Diego de Peñalosa's account of Quivira and Teguayo, to weave the tale of the great lake of salt at the end of the Long River in the area north of New Mexico.⁴

One myth often begets another.

*The Situation of Quivira and Teguayo*¹

Fray Alonso de Posada (who is of the Regular Order of Our Father, San Francisco, and who was the regular *Custodio* of the New Mexican *Custodia* as long as Don Diego de Peñalosa governed in those provinces and kingdoms, and who previously was a missionary for ten years in that *Custodia* and who served as Minister on the more remote frontiers of those provinces, where he acquired information about the lands from the infidel Indians, and who is the present *Definidor* of this Province of *Santo Evangelio* and *Procurador General* for the brethren of his order in this court of Mexico) says:²

3. Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America* (2 vols., Chicago, 1905), I, xxxviii-xliii.

4. S. Lyman Tyler, "The Myth of the Lake of Copala and Land of Teguayo," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX (1952), 313-329.

1. There is a manuscript copy of this document in the Archivo General de la Nación México. Historia, Tomo 3. The microfilm copy consulted was supplied by Professor France V. Scholes of the University of New Mexico. For comparative purposes we also used the following published version which reproduces the above document in part: Fray Alonso de Posadas, "Informe a Su Majestad sobre las tierras de Nuevo Mejico, Quivira y Teguayo," in Cesareo Fernández Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su Descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882), 53-57. The manuscript document gave the name as Posada, the printed version Posadas. We have followed the manuscript.

2. The ecclesiastical organization of the Franciscans in New Spain is referred to as the *Provincia de Santo Evangelio* (Province of the Holy Gospel). That of New Mexico is the *Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo* (Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul.) The *Custodia* is an administrative area in the Franciscan ecclesiastical organization. The *Custodio* (Custodian or Guardian) is administrator in the *Custodia*. As *Definidor* and *Procurador General* Fray Alonso was a member of the governing body and in charge of procurement for the order in New Spain.

A Royal Decree addressed to His Excellency, the *Virrey Arzobispo* came to his attention. This decree was dated December 10, 1678, and was forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy, Marqués de la Laguna and Conde de Paredes, on August 2, 1685, last year. In this decree appears a report received by the *Consejo Real de las Indias*. It is a report about a proposition which Don Diego de Peñalosa made to the Most Christian King [of France] about the conquest and discovery of the Kingdoms of Quivira and Teguayo, which is the one that he calls Tátago.³ In the report he says that the lands of these kingdoms are very rich in silver and gold, plentiful in foodstuffs and well populated. In this report he offered to go to conquer these lands with the armada on the basis that he knows a great deal about all the Indies and that additional information had come to him from some French prisoners who said they had been to that outpost with some ships of a French Captain named Monsieur de Bobochiut.⁴ In the report it appears that the Most Christian King expects to put said proposal into effect, and, nevertheless, as is mentioned in another *Cédula*, this information about Quivira and Teguayo is doubted. Wherefore, the "Memorial" written by Fray Alonso de Benavides, *Custodio* of the New Mexican *Custodia* is inserted in said *Cédula* dated 1630 in which he refers to the information which he learned while he was in these provinces of New Mexico.⁵

He gives account of the wealth in gold and silver in Quivira and Teguayo and the other nations which Your Majesty (May God protect you) ordered according to the Royal Decree (in which you command that you be informed with secrecy, faithfully and with specific attention to detail and clarity on the matters specified therein and also upon any other matters that seem advisable). And, if it will be [advisable] or not to open the communication proposed by said Fray

3. Fray Alonso thought of Teguayo as that area north of present Arizona and New Mexico and west of the Rocky Mountains, and of Quivira as east of the Rocky Mountains both north and south of the Arkansas River.

4. A footnote to this document published in Duro, *op. cit.*, gives Beaujeu for Bobochiut. It was a Captain Beaujeu that landed La Salle and his company at Matagorda Bay.

5. Benavides was in New Mexico from 1625 to 1629. The document referred to is *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*. This was translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis (Chicago, 1916).

Alonzo de Benavides by way of the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*, what advantages or disadvantages there could probably be for the execution of this plan (whatever they may be and whatever causes may have inspired them, what means might be employed to obtain this purpose [goal] and what means there could be with which one might make the try). There probably are churchmen in this kingdom who will be willing to go out to these fields of missionary endeavor. One wonders if there might be a more useful and easier way [than by the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*] through the provinces of Florida, or if, because of the proximity of land and sea of Florida to French and English populations to the north, some danger may be feared from these nations.

Experience is the best teacher and points the way to the best means to a given end, and reason plus prudence foresees difficulties beforehand [and] thus serves as a guide to the goal desired, and predisposes success in important matters. Information is necessary before the most advisable course of action may be selected. It seems to me that the most trustworthy information presently available is the following:

The town of Santa Fé, the center of New Mexico, is at thirty-seven degrees [north latitude] in a straight line from the south. The sea is two hundred leagues west. The *Adelantado*, Don Juan de Oñate, discovered the sea in 1605. He had soldiers and churchmen of my holy religion and Fray Francisco de Escobar, Father Preacher and friar, with him as president. For a guide on his journey he had the river called *el Grande*,⁶ which has its source in the mountains to the north of Santa Fé at twenty-eight degrees.⁷ The river flows west and meets the sea at the small bay in the interior of California.⁸ On the banks of this river the Indians of many nations visited the *Adelantado* Oñate. Among these Indians were two who said they came from the Kingdoms of Teguayo. When they saw the captain eating on a silver table service, they said that there was much of the same metal in their

6. Fray Alonso here refers to a combination of the San Juan (which rises in the mountains north of Santa Fe and flows "straight west") and the Colorado. The present Río Grande is referred to as the *Río del Norte* in this document.

7. Should read thirty-eight degrees. The document locates Santa Fé at thirty-seven degrees.

8. The Gulf of California.

land. Since many confuse Quivira with Teguayo, it will be necessary to explain the position of each, the distance between them, and the means of going from one to the other. For this purpose we shall follow the courses of the rivers and direction in which they flow from their sources.

To start with, north of Santa Fé, at thirty-eight and thirty-nine degrees there are some mountain ranges from which rivers flow both east and west, as is the case of the *Grande* [again the Colorado]. Of course, those which flow east are the larger and longer. From the town of Santa Fé to the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and Gulf of Mexico (looking straight east) there are probably five hundred leagues; although no one has walked the distance, one might compute this from what has been seen.

The *Río del Norte* [the present Río Grande] has its source in said village of Santa Fé and its waters are straight between the towns of these provinces until they arrive at the mission of our *Señora de Guadalupe*, one hundred leagues to the south, where the Spanish garrison is located.⁹ From this point it flows east, declining a little south, and passes through the Indian nations called Mansos, Sumas and Sumanas.¹⁰ The latter neither plant nor harvest, and have a sparse population. At a distance of one hundred leagues from Guadalupe another river joins it.¹¹ The source of this other river is in the Tepeguana nation¹² which is to the west of the *Real de Minas del Parral*.¹³ This river traverses the Indian nations of Taraomara, Conchos, Sublimes and Tobosos, which nations surround the *Real de Minas del Parral*, and then enters the valley of the *Río del Norte*.¹⁴ Therefore the place is called

9. *El Paso del Río del Norte*. Present Ciudad Juárez.

10. According to Carl Sauer (*Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, Berkeley, California, 1934, pp. 65-76, and maps), the Manso area apparently began north of El Paso along the Río Grande, the Suma followed, lying between the Manso and Jumano, with the Jumano (here given by Posada as Sumana) extending south of the junction of the Conchas and Río Grande in New Mexico and Texas.

11. The Conchas River in Northern Mexico.

12. The Tepehuan Indians occupied an area on both sides of the road south of Durango to Parral. The old route followed by the New Mexico supply train is in some stretches closely paralleled by the present El Paso to Mexico City highway.

13. The present city of Parral, Northern Mexico.

14. The Tarahumar, here listed as Taraomara, the Concho and the Toboso are located by Sauer, *op. cit.*, generally north of Parral in the present state of Chihuahua. Sauer does not locate the Sublimes, who seem to have been a nomadic desert tribe as were the Toboso.

Junta de los Ríos.¹⁵ Last year, 1684, *Maestre de Campo* Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, some soldiers and Fray Father Preacher Nicolás López of the Order of Our Father San Francisco came to this place and found both the land and the climate suitable for planting and harvest.¹⁶ They all saw many Indians such as the Jumanes, Rayados, Oposmes, Poloagues and others.¹⁷ Some of them planted corn, beans, wheat, squash and other seeds. These Indians travel one hundred leagues to the *Real de Minas del Parral* to work in turns at the plantations and mines.

The *Río Del Norte* continues east with a declination to the south. At a distance of ten leagues, the so-called *Río Salado* joins it.¹⁸ The *Salado* also has its source in the above-mentioned mountain ranges of New Mexico which face between east and south. The *Río del Norte* flows in the same direction from this point where the *Salado* joins it with a larger volume of water. It flows through very rough hills that seem to contain minerals. To the south at about sixty leagues is *El Real de Minas de Quencamé*. There are many high hills between the river and this mine. In the same direction about sixty leagues further south, with a similar expanse of one hundred leagues there is the Spanish province of Parras.¹⁹ Its name comes from the fact that there are many grapevines there and wine is made. In the district named, dangerous Indians live. They take the horses of the Spaniards who live to the south. At a distance of sixty leagues farther down the river on the south bank is the New Kingdom of León, with an area of ninety leagues of very rough country. From this spot to the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and the Mexican Gulf there is probably a distance of about one hundred leagues. Since its stream is large and swift at that point, they call it the *Río*

15. Also called *La Junta*.

16. Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York, 1916), pp. 811-844; "The Mendoza-López Expedition to the Jumanos."

17. The Jumanos, and probably the Rayados as well, were the Jumano. Oposmes and Poloagues are mentioned as being allied with and in the same vicinity as the Concho.

18. The *Río Salado* mentioned here is the Pecos River which rises in Northern New Mexico east of the Río Grande and flows into the Río Grande in southern Texas. The *Salado* or Pecos is referred to in Coronado's time as the Cicuye.

19. In the present state of Coahuila.

Bravo. Its mouth is at twenty-six degrees [North latitude] between Tampico and the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*.

Turning again to the hills and mountains north of Santa Fé, center of New Mexico, in the region northeast of the town called Pecos, there is formed from certain springs another river which flows in a direction between south and east.²⁰ At a distance of two hundred leagues from its source it parallels the *Río del Norte*. The latter flows into the interior of the Plains of *Sibola* [buffalo plains]. On the north bank, eighty leagues distant from the place we call *Junta de Los Ríos Conchos* and *Norte* is the river we call the *Nueces* because on its banks are many nut trees, mulberry trees, plum trees, wild grapes and other fruits.²¹ Due to the river's attractions there are many wild cows called *Sibola*, and land hens, called turkeys in Spain, and all manner of deer. In 1632 some soldiers from New Mexico and the *frailes* Juan de Salas and Diego de Ortega went there. They found the friendly Jumana Indians who showed an inclination toward Christianity. When the Spaniards and Fray Juan de Salas returned to Santa Fé, Fray Juan de Ortega remained six months with the Indians, and no harm befell him.

In the year 1650, Captains Hernán Martín and Diego del Castillo, under orders of General Hernando de la Concha, Governor at that time of the Provinces of New Mexico, left Santa Fé with some soldiers and Christian Indians and after they had gone through another region about two hundred leagues they arrived at this spot on the *Nueces* River in the Jumana Nation. They stayed there six months because the Indians were friendly and because they found more than enough sustenance. In the passing of six months they took from the river a quantity of shells which, on being heated, revealed pearls that, although not as fine as oriental ones, since they were formed in fresh water, gave every appear-

20. The Pecos parallels the *Río del Norte* and flows into the buffalo plains, but the only river rising where it should according to the document and lying northeast of Pecos is the Canadian, which flows east beyond the Conchas Dam Reservoir. Perhaps Posada knew only its headwaters and imagined that it and the present Colorado River of Texas were the same.

21. The Colorado River of Texas seems to answer the description given of the *Nueces* best.

ance of being as good. These Captains traveled downstream on an easterly course with a declination to the south through the Indian nations called the Cuytoas, the Escanjaques and Ahijados.²² After walking about fifty leagues, they arrived at the border of a nation called Texas.²³ They did not penetrate this territory as they knew it to be very extensive and well populated. This Texas nation goes from north to south the distance between the *Río del Norte* and the *Nueces*, which is probably about a hundred leagues. In width, from east to west, it is probably about the same distance. From the eastern border of this nation to the Coast and the Gulf of Mexico it must be about fifty leagues. These remaining fifty leagues are inhabited by migratory Indians that do not plant nor harvest, for according to the information from near the coast there are many sand dunes and much sandy soil. Through this part of [the land of] the Texas which borders on [the country of] the Quiviras²⁴ to the north, it is said that both nations have hereditary princes or *caciques*²⁵ to govern them, and that they plant and harvest corn crops. Their fertile lands are abundantly watered by streams from the north and they enjoy possession of the wild cattle called *sibola* and also the fruits along the *Nueces* River which is their boundary. Among these nations that of the Texas is probably at twenty-eight de-

22. The habitat and identity of the Cuitoa are unknown. The Escanjaque are identified as the Kansa, a Siouan tribe closely related linguistically to the Osage and Quapaw. Their habitat was apparently further south and west at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Later they probably moved up the Smoky Hill River to the Big Blue. Still later, under pressure from the west they continued up the Kansas River until by 1847 they had reached Council Grove. It is suggested that the Ahijados may be identified with the Tawehash, a principal tribe of the Wichita confederacy. This word (Ahijado) is of Spanish origin and probably stems from *ahijar* (to adopt). The "h" is silent and is often dropped. Aijado could mean "adopted ones." There seems to be no positive information that the Aijado and Tawehash are the same.

23. The name Tejas was applied to various Hasinai tribes of the Caddoan confederacy. Among the Hasinai the word meant friends or allies and referred to a group of the Hasinai that were allied against the Apache. The Spanish j and x are often interchanged. Tejas became Texas, and was eventually applied to the Spanish province of Texas.

24. The Wichita, one of the principal tribes of the Caddoan linguistic stock. First contacted by Coronado in 1541, they probably were then located in central Kansas near the big bend of the Arkansas River. From that time they seem to have moved continually south.

25. This is a Cuban word introduced into Mexico by the Spanish and used by them as a title for Indian chieftains in New Spain.

grees.²⁶ Captains Hernán Martín and Diego del Castillo returned from the borders of the Texas by the same route to Santa Fé ascending to the northern region, from the twenty-eighth degree to the thirty-seventh degree, and a distance of 250 leagues. As soon as they arrived at Santa Fé they showed the pearls they had obtained to General Hernando de la Concha. He sent them to His Excellency the Viceroy by Padre Fray Antonio de Aranda, *Custodio*. The friar arrived at Mexico City where he gave them to the distinguished Conde de Alba de Liste, then the viceroy. The viceroy, after consulting the *Oidores* [judges] of the *Real Audiencia* and the *Fiscal* [Attorney for the Crown], sent a dispatch ordering that the Governor of New Mexico again send soldiers and a captain to command them on an expedition to explore the *Nueces* River and follow its waters to the mouth and then bring truthful reports concerning that land. They were to blaze trails as best they could. This order was carried out by Captain Don Juan de Samiango [Samaniego], *Caballero del Orden de San Juan*, then Governor of said provinces of New Mexico. In the year 1654 he sent the *Sargento Mayor* Don Diego de Guadalajara and thirty soldiers and some two hundred Christian Indians along the specified route. They found many Jumana Indians who warned the *Sargento Mayor* that the Cuitoas, Escanjaques and Ahijados were on the warpath. To verify this information, the *Sargento Mayor* sent Captain Andrés López, some Christian Indians and many Jumana Indians, who willingly accompanied them, to scout the above-mentioned warring nations. *Sargento Mayor*, Don Diego de Guadalajara, remained behind with the rest of his men. After walking some thirty leagues to the east, Captain Andrés López and his company of twelve soldiers, Christian Indians and Jumana Indians, ran across a settlement of Indians of the Cuytoas nation with whom they fought a very fierce battle and learned that Indian bands from the Escanjaques and Ahijados nations were helping the Cuytoas Indians whom

26. Probably should be about thirty degrees. Twenty-eight degrees in this area would place the Texas right on the Gulf, which Posada says is inhabited by unidentified migratory Indians.

they [the Spaniards] were fighting. After a battle lasting almost all one day the victory was won by our men with a loss of very few of our Indians, while many were lost by our adversaries. The victors took two hundred prisoners and booty of bales of hides of antelope, elk and buffalo. They then returned to the camp of the Jumanas on the *Nueces* River where Don Diego de Guadalajara, royal servant, had his post. As soon as these men returned, all the company returned to Santa Fé. *Maestre de Campo* Juan de Mendoza, who was on this journey and in this battle, is now living in this city.²⁷

In the year 1606 [1601], the *Adelantado* Don Juan de Oñate, with eighty men well supplied with arms and horses, and with Padre Fray Francisco de Velasco as Chaplain, left Santa Fé with the firm intention of discovering the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean]. He took an easterly route, and after having walked almost three hundred leagues through the plains of *Sibola* he found himself in the Ahijados nation. This nation faces Quivira to the east and almost borders it on its northern frontier, since it is a neighbor to the Texas to the east. The Ahijados received Oñate and his soldiers well. After having rested a few days in that camp, these Ahijados Indians, who were currently at war with the Quiviras, pleaded with Don Juan de Oñate to accompany them to Quivira.

Oñate, either to pay them for their trust, or with cunning scheme to explore that kingdom, decided to accept the request of the Ahijados. More than two thousand Ahijado Indians were with him. As soon as they entered the lands of Quivira some native Indians of that realm appeared to receive the *Adelantado* Oñate and his soldiers, but seeing that their enemies, Indians of Ahijado, accompanied the Spaniards, they, being fearful of some harm, retreated toward the interior of their country. The Ahijado Indians who were accompanying Oñate began to burn the Quivira's houses and fields. When Oñate saw this he prohibited them from doing it. The Ahijado Indians were so angered by this that they turned their arms against the Spaniards and a very hard-fought battle ensued.

27. Fray Alonso de Posada wrote this *Informe* in 1686. This was during the Pueblo Rebellion, when the Spanish had withdrawn to El Paso. Juan Domingo would not have been living at Santa Fé at this time.

More than a thousand Indians died and the rest retreated without one Spaniard being killed.²⁸ Oñate, having seen that there were many people in Quivira and that it was necessary to cross Quivira to discover the sea, about which he had, as yet, no word, and since he realized that the sea was yet far away, returned to Santa Fé by the same trail he had made on the way out, and he did not discover any more lands.

Since Santa Fé, center of New Mexico, serves us as a guide post to give information about the lands and nations which lie in that territory, one must note that after the hills located at twenty-eight or twenty-nine degrees²⁹ in a northerly direction from said Santa Fé, at a distance of thirty to forty leagues, is a very high mountain range called *Sierra Blanca*,³⁰ and farther on in the same direction at fifty-four degrees there are some high and inaccessible mountains which are covered with perpetual snows and are therefore called the *Sierras Nevadas*.³¹ They enter and occupy much territory in the equinoctial. They are very wide on the eastern end and come almost to those settlements of foreign nations that are northeast of Florida.³² These mountains could have been a barrier to prevent their [that is, the French and English] expansion inland. From the slopes of these *Sierras Nevadas* that face in an easterly direction come the rivers that flow into the foreign settlements. One is called the Pobatan and it is located at thirty-eight degrees and the rivers *Chuare* at thirty-five degrees and the *San Lorenzo* and Jordan rivers at thirty-four degrees.³³ From the southern slopes of the before-mentioned mountains, Florida and its surrounding area are watered. And from the slopes that face straight

28. This sounds a little too good to be true, even for the Spanish soldier.

29. This should read thirty-eight or thirty-nine degrees.

30. Reference here is to a perpetually snow-covered peak probably in the Sangre de Cristo Range, since later it is said to be between the *Sierras Nevadas* (Rockies) and the "eastern region."

31. The Rocky Mountains.

32. Some maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed the range of mountains here being discussed extending all the way across North America, with rivers running out of them to west, south, and east. This is what Fray Alonso has in mind.

33. Fray Alonso here has reference to the rivers flowing out of this extended range of mountains on the east coast, where the French and English were, and emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. The Pohutan and the Chuare may possibly be the James and the Roanoke. The Cape Fear River has been identified as Fray Alonso's Jordan, and the San Lorenzo is probably the Pee Dee.

south the land slopes down to Quivira, and for better understanding it is as follows: The *Sierra Blanca* which is between the *Sierras Nevadas* and the eastern region, forms a river that runs straight east.³⁴ From the *Sierras Nevadas* another river³⁵ descends which flows to the south until it joins the latter, from which a great and deep river, the *Grande* (for thus it is called) is formed.³⁶ This river continues about 250 leagues to the east with slopes on the south bank. It turns sharp south for about thirty leagues and drops away on the right hand entering the center of Quivira. When you consider the direction it takes at this point and the outlet of a river that runs into the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* it would appear that they are one and the same.³⁷

In the year 1634, Captain Alonso Vaca with some soldiers left the city of Santa Fé traveling along the eastern rather than the southern course as he did on the other journeys. After having gone almost three hundred leagues in this direction, he arrived at the River *Grande* and wanted to cross over, but the friendly Indians in his company warned him not to, because on the other bank was the Quivira nation.³⁸ These Indians, after studying sign, told him that those lands were heavily populated with men who planted corn and also enjoyed the *sibola* that lived there. Captain Alonso Vaca, nevertheless, wanted to cross the river and desired to make rafts for the crossing. Again the friendly Indians warned him to watch his step, for no matter how brave he might be, finally he and his companions would be killed. Because of these warnings, Captain Alonso Vaca gave up his plans.

To give a description of the lands of Quivira and its location, we shall derive our information from the position of New Spain. We shall take the headwaters of the *Río Verde*

34. This would be the Arkansas River.

35. The Canadian.

36. The *Grande* here would be the Arkansas after the union of the upper Arkansas and the Canadian.

37. Duro suggests that the *Grande* and the Mississippi are the same. If this is so the Spanish also thought of the Arkansas and the Mississippi as being the same river, which Fray Alonso calls the *Grande*. This is entirely possible since it was not generally known at this time that the French had descended the Mississippi from New France.

38. If Captain Alonso Vaca reached the *Grande* (Arkansas River) in an area where the Quivira were on the other bank, he had not traveled three hundred leagues, but closer to two hundred.

in the direction of the Kingdom of León, always looking north as follows: From the Kingdom of León to the *Río del Norte* it is one hundred leagues with the Sierra de *Quaguila* in between (eight brethren of the Order of Our Father of San Francisco are there [in these mountains of Coahuila]).³⁹ At the very bank of the *Río del Norte* the Texas nation begins. The coast is on the right hand fifty leagues distant. This nation probably runs to the *Nueces* River on the coast side, as it has been said.⁴⁰ Right next to this nation in the same region is Quivira, also a hundred leagues wide as far down as the *Grande* River, which runs through this country.⁴¹ It is probably a hundred leagues from the *Nueces* River to the *Grande*, there in the northern region. Then the nation of Quivira goes on fifty leagues beyond the *Grande* in the same direction, noting always that in the north, as well as the south, it is wider than in the middle. It is bounded by the *Grande* River which flows down from the *Sierras Nevadas* mountains.⁴² Many people like to say that Quivira has many cities and the city of Quivira [capital] which gives the country its name is particularly large. They like to say that all these cities are rich in gold and silver. On this point it seems the information is more liberal than precise or true, for there is no one who will affirm, either among our Spaniards or among the neighboring Indians, having seen any amount of these metals which have come from that realm. They [silver and gold] are metals that always have a known origin since they are so highly prized among men that even savages take pride in them for adornment. What is to be presumed is that there could be some minerals, for beyond some of the many rivers which run through those lands the natives who dwell on the river banks do what they used to do in New Spain; they clean some gold and silver from the sands of the rivers (this must be, as the

39. From the headwaters of the river he calls *Verde*, Fray Alonso is taking us across the present state of Coahuila to the *Río Grande* above the Pecos, for below it is called the *Bravo*.

40. That is, between the *Río del Norte* (present *Río Grande*) and the *Nueces* (present Colorado River of Texas).

41. The *Grande* here would be the Mississippi. About a hundred leagues (250 miles) east of the *Nueces* (Colorado).

42. Here the *Grande* is the Arkansas River, which acts as a border between the Texas and Quivira nations in this region.

nearest understanding to the knowledge which the Indians of those kingdoms must have, according to their temperament, would indicate as much). It is a fact that the Indians never did benefit from gold and silver as they ought until the Spaniards came. In reference to the great populous cities they refer to (some so great—they say—that they stretch for leagues), it is certain that there are many people, but this is how they live: each Indian has his house and next to it his plot of ground and fields, where he plants and harvests. This makes for a greater inhabited area with less population than one might expect.

So that it may be seen that there can be some trustworthy information it should be noted that the Apache nation possesses and controls all the plains of *sibola*. The Indians of this nation are so haughty and arrogant and so proud as warriors that they are the common enemy of all the tribes below the northern regions [immediately surrounding New Mexico]. They have struck fear to all other tribes and have overrun, ruined and cast most of them out of their own lands. This tribe occupies, defends and considers itself owner of four hundred leagues of land east and west and two hundred leagues north and south.⁴³ In some places along their borders they claim even more territory. Its center [that of the Apache nation] is the plains of Sibola. This nation is confined on the east by the Quiviras [in southern Kansas] with whom they are now and have been continually at war. In the same region [the Apache nation] also borders on the Texas nation with whom they have always had war. Although the Quivira and Texas nations are wide and have many people, the Apache nation in the interior [around Santa Fé] bordering these nations along two hundred leagues as mentioned, has not only kept its boundaries [inviolable] but has invaded those of the two other nations.

43. As we follow Fray Alonso's description of the Apache Country, beginning with the Quivira northeast of New Mexico he will take us in a complete circle around New Mexico from north to south first, then east to west, then south to north, until the Yuta, north of New Mexico complete the circle. Fray Alonso is in an expansive mood here. We should remember, however, that during the seventeenth century the Ute, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Mohave, Jumano and other nomadic tribes were sometimes referred to as Apache, which meant enemy and was used as the Spanish in Central Mexico used the term Chichimeca. Apache might be used to cover any unidentified nomadic tribe.

When your informant [Posada] was Minister in the town of Pecos a camp of Apache Indians entered the town to sell hides of antelope and leather and brought with them some captive Indian children from Quivira to trade for horses. When they were asked several different times if they had ever gotten some earrings or bracelets of gold or silver (they always wear these adornments on the left arm) on raids in Quivira or Texas, they agreed to a man that while they had killed important captains and many ordinary Indians too, who were from these nations, none had found on the bodies any such things [adornments]. They said they had found many buffalo skins, elk and antelope hides, maize and fruits. They also said that all the inhabitants of those lands, the women as well as the men, dressed in skins [*gamuza*]. From these reports one sees that there isn't as much gold and silver as is reported.

From the east to the west through the southern region, the Apache nation borders the following: after the Texas, the Ahijados, the Cuytoas and the Escanjaques in a fifty league district [in southeastern New Mexico and Texas]. Since these are the ones that live along the *Nueces* River the Apache nation has caused them to retreat to the district of the *Río del Norte*, a district of little less than one hundred leagues. After these nations there comes the Jumana tribe and the others mentioned at the *Junta de los Ríos Norte* and *Conchos*. These also [the Apaches have] dispossessed from their lands by the *Nueces* River and cornered in said spot due to the hostility of war. They also sustain a war with the Desumanas, Sumas, Mansos and others that are living between the Junction of the *Norte* and *Conchos* rivers on the banks of the *Río del Norte* to the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe [present *Ciudad Juárez*]. They also keep the Spanish garrison there very busy and in the same region all the tribes toward Sonora, such as the Jamos and the Carretas, whom they also have dispossessed, and toward Sonora they attack them right from the mountains, however they do it even more from the area about fifty leagues to the north. The Apache nation has some very fertile and pleasant parcels of land and meadows where many Apachas live. This is in the

Sierra Azul,⁴⁴ a range renowned for its riches because its metals have been shown so many times but never taken [that is, fully explored and extracted] because of our neglect and luke-warm attitude.

In the same region the Apacha nation wars against and greatly harms the Siplas nation, which nation is located north of Sinaloa and Sonora and south of the Apachas.⁴⁵ The Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe must be one hundred leagues to the east of *el Cuartelejo* [of the Siplas].⁴⁶ From there the Apacha nation continues on the said east-west trail in the southern region, to the nation of Coninas.⁴⁷ This Coninas tribe is completely subjugated to the Apachas. Passing from south to north about seventy leagues along the river called the Grande (where it has been said there are metals and quicksilver) behind the towns of Moquy, looking eastward a distance of twenty leagues one comes to the Yutas nation, which comes before Teguayo.

The Yutas nation reaches near the South Sea [Pacific Ocean].⁴⁸ These Indians are fond of the Spaniard, are well built, brave and energetic, for only these [Yutas] carry on campaigns against the valiant Apachas with a courage equal [to the courage of the Apachas]. They are so steady in battle that through diligent persistence and to maintain their honorable reputation they do not retreat without winning or dying. The *Grande* River [here the San Juan and Colorado] divides Yuta and Apacha. This river guided Don Juan de Oñate to the South Sea [Pacific].

The Apacha nation continues along the *Sierra Blanca*, which is farther on, in the mountains north of New Mexico. Continuing from west to east in a northerly direction these [Apachas] are bordered by the Quivira nation at a distance

44. Located by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, eighteenth century mapmaker in New Mexico, northwest of Moqui (the Hopi country), and below the Colorado River.

45. We should remember that during this period the country north to the Gila River, and sometimes beyond, was thought of as Sonora.

46. In Arizona south of the land of the Coninas (located in the following note).

47. Often referred to as the Conina Apache, these are the Havasupai, of Yuman stock, at this time found along the Colorado River south of the Little Colorado. Miera (cited in note 43), 100 years later, refers to the Little Colorado as the *Rio de los Coninas*.

48. The branch of the Yutas referred to as "near the South Sea" would be the ancestors of the Chemehuevi west of the Colorado River in southeastern California.

of fifty leagues. These [the Quivira] are on the other side of that *Grande River* [here the Arkansas] which rises in the *Sierras Nevadas*. On this as well as the other side of the river the Quivira Nation expands greatly. The Apachas are also at war along the frontier they share with the Quiviras.

All the mountain ranges which are within and surrounding New Mexican provinces are considered by the Apachas as their property. The Apachas are so constantly at war with them that usually the Spaniards carry arms. They attack the Indian pueblos from previously prepared ambushes killing the men atrociously and carrying off the women and children as legitimate captives of war. They usually destroy their enemies' corn fields and steal Spanish horses day and night wreaking all other damages their fierce pride can plot. The Indians of this nation who live in the eastern province of New Mexico have and have always had particular care in maintaining peace with the Spaniards in order that they might have commerce with them, having an outlet for their dressed skins and hides. In other areas these same Indians who inhabit said mountains surrounding New Mexico are continually at war with the Spaniards.

This nation, as already mentioned, is the owner and possessor of all the plains of *sibola*, and the center of the above-mentioned nations. It is not governed by chiefs or hereditary princes, but rather by those who give proof in war of being the bravest. They use no [idols?] or other base superstitions and only adore the sun with the veneration of a father, for they say they are the children of the sun. They clothe themselves in dressed skins, always wearing shoes, boots and jackets which they take pride in keeping clean. On their travels they carry only bows and arrows. The arrows are sharp and well made and the bows are well proportioned after the Turkish manner. The very sight of such arms distinguishes this tribe from the others. They have wives that they hold in especial esteem and when a woman is caught in adultery they cut her nose to mark her as an adulteress.

It seems that all that can be said at present about these nations [tribes] has been said and there only need be explained

the place, location and region of the Kingdom called Teguayo. To give knowledge about this land let us again begin at thirty-seven degrees in Santa Fé, the center of New Mexico, thence taking a straight line from this place to the northwest region between south and north, crossing the mountains called *Casa-fuerte* or Navajo⁴⁹ one arrives at the *Grande* River [here the San Juan] which goes straight west, a distance of seventy leagues, a land possessed by the Apachas [Navaho], and crossing said *Grande* River one enters the Yutas Nation (warlike people). Crossing through this nation about sixty leagues in the same northwesterly direction, one then enters some hills at about fifty leagues distance and the nation the northern Indians call Teguayo. The Mexican Indians, according to ancient tradition, call it Copala, which in the Mexican language means gathering of many people of different nations. Also according to the ancient tradition it is said that all the Indians of New Spain, not only the Mexican Indians, who were the last, came from there. They mean that Guatemala and all the other realms and provinces of Peru and the other neighboring nations on this continent were peopled from Copala, for only from there, in early times, did they understand that men spread throughout the world. They had no large ships necessary to enter the Strait of Anian with ease. It is certain that the land is so extensive there that it enters beneath the equinoctial.

Many astrologers and cosmographers confuse Teguayo with Gran Quivira, it being that the latter is to the east and borders on the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean] and Teguayo is between the north and south and is bordered by the West Sea [Pacific Ocean]. The many islands, small bays and coves that are in the south are said to be part of Quivira. Since these lands are unknown they [the cosmographers, etc.] do not do much by way of explaining them.

49. This probably has reference to the Chuska Mountains. The word *Casa-fuerte* suggests a stronghold or fortress. Shiprock and the small, flat-topped fortress-like mesas surrounding it might very well acquire the name *Casa-fuerte*. It is suggested that this may have been the border between the Navaho and Yuta in this region.

[Cf: "Early Navaho Geography," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 31, No. 4 (October, 1956). F. D. R.]

From Teguayo to Quivira going by way of New Mexico and Santa Fe there is a great distance. However, looking at these two nations from fifty degrees in the region beyond New Mexico to the north they could be fairly close [to each other], since Quivira expands greatly inland toward the *Sierras Nevadas* and Teguayo can also be said to expand toward the east and draw near or touch Quivira. The basis for the confusion is that wild cows [buffalo] are found in Teguayo also. These buffalo migrate from one place to another so that both the inhabitants of the east and the west could have them. It is not merely conjecture but certain that there are many people and diverse nations in the Kingdom of Teguayo. All of the northern tribes assure this fact. Don Juanillo, an Indian from the town of Emes [Jemez], especially affirms this. This informant [Posada] being the Minister of that frontier, Juanillo told him several times of having been captive in Teguayan provinces for a period of two years and that there were many people who spoke different languages there, and some that were spoken in New Mexico. He also said there was a large lake populated all around its borders. Many times he told the Governors of New Mexico that if they should go to those provinces he would go with them as guide. Although Captain Francisco Luján asked twice to be allowed to journey there, they would not let him go. This is all that now can be said and known of Teguayo. As a brief resume we shall give the location of the nations below [south of] the north [northern region] according to the mariners needle taking the city of Santa Fé as the central point.

The city of Santa Fé is at thirty-seven degrees on a straight line from north to south (for looking toward the north below its equinoctial the Strait of Anian begins at about seventy degrees). In the region to the east and northeast [of Santa Fé] are the *Sierras Nevadas*, and beyond their expanse, on their slopes, is the gulf called Anian. Its northern headland begins with some bays, deep in places, and having very little water in others. For this reason the said Strait of Anian is very difficult to traverse. At that point [probably on the

Pacific side] said gulf very nearly borders on the land of Portugal,⁵⁰ and on the east the Cape of Estotilant, in the land of Labrador. The Cape of Roquesay which is where New France terminates. New France is on the Florida coast and its farthestmost border to the northeast where the foreign settlements are; looking some seventy leagues north from said point [Santa Fé] is the Yuta nation and past this at a distance of about 180 leagues the kingdom and provinces of Teguayo.

Looking two hundred leagues directly west are the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] and California. One hundred leagues to the southwest are the villages⁵¹ of the Apache nation and Sinaloa. Directly to the south about three hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] we find the *Real de Minas del Parral*. To the south-southeast at two hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] is the *Nueces* River which flows through the Ahijado nation, which extends two hundred leagues. The mouth of the *Río Bravo* is 270 leagues away [from Santa Fé] through [the land of] the Texas at twenty-five or thirty degrees. In the region to the east-southeast, at 280 leagues distance [from Santa Fé] are the Buffalo Plains and Quivira and at 150 leagues distance, on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico at twenty-nine and a half degrees, is the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*.

Looking east-southeast at two hundred leagues [from Santa Fé] we come upon the limits of the Buffalo Plains and from this point traversing three hundred leagues along the same parallel is St. Augustine, Florida. Looking from Santa Fé to the east-southeast, we shall find at 150 leagues distance the *Grande River* [here the Arkansas] which descends from the *Sierras Nevadas* and the Nation of Quivira in that region. Four hundred ninety leagues from this point [Santa Fé] at thirty-four degrees, which is in the middle of New France, we shall have for a boundary the bay of *Todos Santos*. Looking to the east at a little more than a hundred leagues is Quivira,

50. This is probably referring to Portuguese territory in the northern Pacific Ocean. Estotilant is shown on some early maps as that region north of Labrador; and Cape Roquesay may be Cape Race, Newfoundland (see Index and charts in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. III).

51. The word is *cuartelejo* which suggests small, ugly barracks, huts, hogans. Such villages are often referred to as *rancherías*.

and across it at two hundred leagues is the land of the Capuchies.⁵² From this point along the border of the *Sierras Nevadas*, between south and east, and from that corner we shall find following the same direction at four hundred leagues the Pobatan River (others have called this river the *Nevado* because it is always snowy), and the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* which is at the same thirty-seven degrees as the city of Santa Fé. For the coastal boundary is the *Santiago* [St. James] sand bar, which is the final point of New France and is at thirty-seven degrees. To the east-northeast one hundred leagues distant more or less and going inland this direction to fifty-three degrees we shall find the *Sierras Nevadas* mountains on the south. Beginning at this same latitude along the line [route] to the north-northeast it [the *Sierra Nevada* range] lies, as has been said, with great expansion in width to the north country until it meets that land populated by Englishmen and Frenchmen.

This is all that can be said of the kingdoms and provinces that are below the North in the circumference of New Mexico and its mountains which divide the streams of the rivers, some of which go down to the southern sea and some to the northern sea. Therefore, on the west slopes of the *Sierra Nevada* Range all its waters flow to the South Sea [Pacific] and all the waters on the south slopes run into the North Sea [Atlantic].

Any attempt to tell of or locate all the rivers and streams that there are here and there would be an endless task so only the most important and well-known rivers are mentioned, and since the foregoing information does not give a basis for being able to consider the advisability or inadvisability which there might be in opening up communication through the bay of *Espíritu Santo* to the coast of Florida and Tampico it is offered for what use it might have.

The advantages that there might be and which urge open-

52. *The Handbook of American Indians* gives Capote as a synonym for Capuchies. The Capote are a band of Ute Indians who operated in the area northeast of New Mexico during the Spanish period. As I interpret Fray Alonso here, however, the Capuchies he mentions are somewhere east of the Mississippi River. He may have reference to the Province of Capachequi encountered by De Soto.

ing communication by way of the bay of *Espiritu Santo* are as follows:

First and foremost is the conversion of such a world of barbarous Indians that are in the interior region of the land. It would seem that Our Lord God will take it upon Himself to support this plan, and that He will facilitate its consumation by all His power, and He will provide the ministers that He probably has set apart for the task among the religious orders and other ecclesiastics, for all are equally obliged to aid in so high and noble a ministry. The second [reason is] that by occupying that port, or another nearby, one would prohibit the enemies of any nation whatsoever from getting control of that coast and the lands and kingdoms that border thereon, for there would follow very grave harm and even danger of losing those [lands] already acquired [if they were allowed to do this].

The third advantage is that the food supply is assured for it is well known that the wild cows called *sibolas* are so numerous along all the border lands of the coast and even inland that no matter how many of the [Indian] nations feed upon them, still there are always more than enough, even though the lions, tigers, wolves, bears, and mountain dogs (called coyotes) kill a great many of said cows. The fourth advantage is the hope that can be held out that gold and silver may be found in those lands, and that once these [metals] are put to work they may be of great use. The fifth advantage is that it is now considered a fact that pearls may be taken in the *Nueces* River (which is a sweet water river), and that in the other rivers in the same country and of the same characteristics the same is probably true. If there are [pearls] found [in the rivers] on the slopes [or banks] they will probably be much finer and in greater abundance than those [pearls] found on the coast, because the shells [mollusks] may reflect the difference between sweet and salt water, and, by the same token, because that coast and those rivers that flow to it are sweet and cool and of good quality, it is more than conjecture that there will be [pearls] and that amber may be taken on the coast. The sixth advantage would probably be that the port that would be founded there, because of being within eye-

sight of the center of Mexico, could serve as a sentry [or out-post] from which to observe the enemy and as a shelter for our ships which could be saved from pursuing enemy ships. And it would also probably be an advantage that all along that coast there is an abundance of different fish, and available land for sowing, and other goods which would be needed by the provinces and nearby forts.

The following are the disadvantages:

The first and most important task will be the need to search and sound all the coast, for it could be that there is another port, or ports, which are more suitable for accessibility and [ease of] fortification and which can more easily accommodate large vessels. The Bay of *Espíritu Santo* seems to have inlets on the north according to the map, and on the south, swamps [low lands], and on the land side a cove or small bay thirty leagues in circumference, and in the northern region there are inlets, and in the north also are two small rivers which empty into another small cove. In the southern region there is the Río Grande. Taken together they could be the watershed [*derramadero*] of the northern slopes. Upon searching the other coast it was apparent that there could be no better choice than that which was ordered by his Excellency Señor Marqués de la Laguna, Conde de Paredes and Viceroy of this New Spain.⁵³

The second disadvantage is that since some port must be settled whether it be the [port of] *Espíritu Santo* or any other one along the coast, a sufficiently large garrison of soldiers and settlers will surely be necessary so that under all circumstances it can resist invasion and defend itself, not only against the pirates which constantly rove the coasts, but also from any ships which may be sent against them by foreign princes, and also so that there might be on the land side de-

53. Fray Alonso includes two asides here that are very difficult to handle in the text. First, to explain why he is listing some of these items both as advantages and disadvantages, he states that "although they may be useful, they may also be harmful," or if handled correctly these may be to the advantage of Spain, if not they will be to her disadvantage. Second, he states that although those in high office are usually careful to make correct decisions they sometimes, by forcing through their "blind decrees," cause the response to them to be very "lukewarm" if the decrees are carried out at all. I think he is suggesting to those in high places that they should seek advice from those that know what they are talking about, then follow it, and see that their subordinates follow it.

fense against all the many barbarous Indians from whom one cannot expect to obtain confidence [support] because naturally they will try to defend their land and liberty. Let me warn you that, even though they are barbarians, in military materiel they have been found to be and are very clever.

At the time of any Indian raid [on the proposed port] there will be no possibility of succor by sea or by land because the [proposed] port will be so isolated. To reach it, it [would be] necessary for even the nearest neighbors to spend many days [of travel].⁵⁴ On the land side they cannot obtain aid from anyone because they will be so far away from the kingdoms populated by Spaniards with so many barbarous Indians in between, and [because] the lands are cut by many raging rivers and rough mountains.

The third disadvantage is that the fleets and merchant ships may not stop in another port to trade because they have to unload their goods either at Veracruz or Tampico, for at no other places can they merchandise them,⁵⁵ and it is even more difficult by overland route because of the previously mentioned difficulties. To ship their goods [in this manner] would be the same as to put them in the hands of the pirates. Neither can wagons nor pack mules go another way to New Mexico, nor to Parral, nor to other places because of the difficulties of the rivers and the length of the road—about 500 leagues more or less which must be crossed among infidel, barbarous and enemy Indians. To do so would require a great number of [military] escorts.

From Mexico to *Real Quencamé* there are 150 leagues open to free and safe commerce without difficulties, detriment or any bother at all. From there to Parral there are [difficulties] due to the infidel Indians who usually attack the traveller, as has happened in the past. There are *presidios* to convoy passengers, carts, and all types of merchants. From

54. Fray Alonso points out in an aside here that one should also consider that on such a long trip it would be necessary to carry supplies. This would add even more to the number of days necessary for the trip, since it would involve slow pack animals.

55. Fray Alonso is probably taking a slap at Spanish control of trade here. Apparently Vera Cruz and Tampico were approved stops for the merchant ships. To sell goods anywhere else, unless the proposed port at *Espíritu Santo* were put on the approved list, would be against the law. Since this was true, no ships would be likely to stop there and the seaport would be a failure.

Parral to *el paso del Norte* it is about two hundred leagues across flat and easily travelled country. Although there are a few wild Indians they are not many and a small escort is enough.

As to whether it would be easier [to approach the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*] through the provinces of Florida or rather through the neighboring region that the latter share with the country settled by the English or French in the northern region, one could fear some harm as follows:

One must note that from St. Augustine, Florida to the Cape of Roquesay Obretón must be a distance of about two hundred leagues. The English and French settlements begin sixty leagues from Florida. To the *Cabo Delgado*, in whose province is located the *Corte Real* [islands] of France, the beginning of those lands which are obedient to the Most Christian King [of France], it is probably about 120 leagues distance. From the middle of those [French] lands trips can be made, although they are very long, by land down through another region that slopes to the south and going around the lands that belong to Florida arrive at the southlands which are under submission to the Province of Losa.⁵⁶

But there might also be a great deal of difficulty in this [trip] because after so many years of possessing that land they [the French] would have done it themselves (because they are diligent in such undertakings) if they had not encountered some obstacles to the execution [of said trip]. The difficulty might have been that the foothills of the *Sierras Nevadas* are extensive and rough, mountainous and cold. This may have been the obstacle to their plan.

But always attempts [to go] through Florida would probably be good, departing inland in a southerly direction, and one could also go down to the *Gran Quivira* to the left, if he took enough people and an abundance of horses which are the best weapons against the Indians, and well trained soldiers and plenty of provisions. One crosses many miles without hope of finding provisions.

Since examples serve as well as [personal] experiences to

56. Possibly the Province of Coça encountered in this region by De Soto.

correct mistakes, it is well to note that Florida was discovered in 1520 [1513]. Two hundred men went two hundred leagues inland and suffered great famine, for they went to the Province of Olibahali and the Province of Losa of Capuchies and returned from there to Florida.⁵⁷ In the year 1530 [1539] Captain Hernando de Soto left Florida with a thousand men with the intention to explore all the land to New Mexico. He entered the previously mentioned lands and fell back on Quivira and when he got to the plains of *sibola* he was so cut to pieces by enemies and Indians all along the four hundred leagues of his route that when he was hard pressed by the Apacha, which nation we have already mentioned, he was forced to retreat and take advantage of a hill which he was fortunate enough to find on the bank of a large river which is believed to have been the Rio Grande [here the Mississippi]. From the wood he found on the hill and driftwood on the river he made a raft on which he went downstream and came out with very few men on the north coast from whence even while he was on the raft the Indians pursued him in canoes. Along said coast he arrived at Tampico broken, his men lost.⁵⁸

In the year 1553 the fleet that left Veracruz for the Kingdoms of Castile from Havana by way of the Bahama channel was hit by a gale so great that only one battered boat arrived in Spain. Another boat, due to the intensity of the wind, arrived on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in the district that lay near Tampico. In this boat were five dominican monks and three hundred people of various classes. They jumped ashore and set out for Tampico by way of the coast. Only one monk, Fray Marcos de Mena, of all those who were on the boat arrived [in Tampico] and that was miraculous as one can read in the book of the *Crónica de la Provincia de Nuestro Santo Padre Domingo de México*. One can also see what happened in the book printed about the expedition of Hernando de Soto.

57. Olibahali here is Hothliwahali or Ulibahali, an upper Creek town generally located on the north bank of the Tallapoosa River, at the mouth of Chubbehatches Creek, visited by De Soto and Tristán de Luna. The Province of Losa is commented on in the note above. Capuchies and Capachequi may be identical.

58. Fray Alonso's source of information for the Spanish explorations in the southeastern part of the present United States obviously was not very good.

With regard to the fear as to whether the foreign nations that are settled to the northeast of Florida are able to settle the port and bay of *Espiritu Santo* [let me say] that not only is the door open for other nations, but also for the kingdoms of France, of England or any other kingdom, or pirates can settle and populate said port as they would have no opposition in doing it, since from Florida to Tampico there is no garrison of Spanish soldiers. With regard to the fleets—may God forbid—if another port were settled [there] by foreigners, they [the Spanish] would enter and leave the port of Veracruz under obvious risk.

The means by which communication may be opened up through a new port have been mentioned already and it is only mentioned again so that it [the port] may be had for the inland kingdoms of this New Spain, and it is easy to get. In the nations of the Texas and Quivira, by settling said port and garrisoning it as aforesaid and placing a *presidio* inland on the *Nueces* River in the most convenient location to be found, with due reference to the grass lands and crop lands which would be needed because of the advantage of the *Sibola* cows and fruits that grow there, [one] could with a hundred field soldiers, provided they be cavalry, keep some to guard the fort and send others out to explore the district and [find] a place where the port might be established. This would accomplish not only the subjugation and conversion of these nations but [the fort] would also become the protector of the tribes throughout the land and would doubtless have the aid and support of the Jumana nation and of ten or twelve other tribes that are near the Jumanas on the *Rio del Norte* and they would go to settle on said river because those lands were theirs and were taken away from them by the Apache nation, their enemies. The [tribes] desire revenge and their inclination to become Christian gives credence to the idea [belief] that they would be faithful. The nations of the Ahijados, Cuitoas, Escanjaques and Texas would do likewise because they are also oppressed by the Apache nation as has been said, and the *presidio* could make the trip [possible] through the region of the *Rio del Norte* to the kingdom

of New León and right on to Mexico. Along this route it would be a little longer than from Mexico to *El Paso del Rio Norte*. Leaving Florida on a few *entradas* [expeditions] one could find or at least explore all the lands that are in between from one district to the other.

So that the truthfulness of the information given in this report might be considered legal [official] and the most truthful that can be had at present, there are in this city at present the *Maestro de Campo* Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, *Sargento Maestro* Bartholomé Gómez, Captain Diego Lucero and others born and reared here and presently residing in New Mexico.⁵⁹ By reading it [this report] to them they can give their opinions and they may add or subtract what they see that is not true. They will see the care and legality which this report contains, for he who is writing it swears in the words of a priest that according to his knowledge and understanding it is all that can be said and the information that can be given according to the best measure of lands and nations that can be made of all the kingdoms and provinces that are below the north in the region of New Mexico in fulfillment of those [data] ordered by the *Cédula Real del Sur*, and I sign it in this convent of our Father San Francisco of Mexico the 14th of March of 1686.

59. After the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, New Mexico was not reconquered until 1692. These men were probably residing at *El Paso del Norte* in 1686.